Macpherson in the Toronto Star

'Need any help?'

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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New York reminder

The event: Rally to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The place: St. Nicholas Arena, 69 W. 66th St., Manhattan.

The date: Friday, April 21, 8 p.m. One dollar contribution at the door.

The speakers: Carl Braden, Frank Wilkinson, Pete Seeger and others.

REVOLUTION IN PERIL

The war for Cuba: The facts

By Kumar Goshal

THE LONG-HERALDED putsch to overthrow the government of Fidel Castro may have been finally launched on the week end of April 15-16.

At dawn on April 15, American-made B-26's bombed three areas of Cuba: Havana's Ciudad Libertad, formerly Camp Colombia which has been transformed into a central school; the air field at Santiago de Cuba, and the Air Force headquarters at San Antonio de Los Banos.

Between midnight April 16 and dawn of April 17, three invading parties of counterrevolutionary exile forces (one source put the figure at 5,000) were reported to have invaded Oriente, Matanzas and Las Villas provinces.

At GUARDIAN press time there was a series of rapid-fire developments:

- Soviet Premier Khrushchev personally interceded with President Kennedy to halt the fighting in Cuba. He said that the U.S.S.R. would give the Cuban government all the help it needed.
- Secy. of State Dean Rusk denied that the invasion had been mounted from U.S. soil, although he said the sympathy of the people of the U.S. was with the invaders.
- More than 2,000 pro-Castro demonstrators outside the UN protested the invasion. Similar demonstrations were taking place all over Latin America. Mexico's beloved former President Lazaro Cardenas said he was going to Havana to offer his services to Premier Castro.
- All communications to and from Cuba had been cut off. Whatever reports of the fighting were being printed came primarily from the counterrevolutionaries.

CIVILIAN CASUALTIES: Press reports on April 15 said that low-flying bombers exploded munition stores in Havana and fired rockets in the Santiago raid. Cuban Foreign Minister Raul Roa told the UN that there were many civilian

(Continued on Page 4)

In this issue

KENNEDY'S 100 DAYS
View from Moscow . . p. 3
JOBS AND UNIONS
A sober survey . . . . . pp. 6-7
THE MOLINA CASE
A built-in verdict . . . . . . p 8
THE SMITH THEORY
Of civil defense . . . . . p. 12

'THE FORTRESS OF THE HOPE OF AMERICA'

Cuba events show old order's desperation

By Cedric Belfrage

The following dispatch was received before the news of the air raids and the landings in Cuba.

HAVANA

DAY BY DAY the feeling intensifies of being at the heart of a great hour in history. Events crowding one upon the other throw into ever clearer relief the desperation of the old order, and sharpen the resolve of these stubborn and magnificent Cubans to enthrone brotherhood in the Americas or die defending its island beach-head.

Cubans could only be amazed by Washington's "White Paper" requesting them to cut ties with the socialist countries—their friends without whom their revolution might have been strangled by imperialist blockade. Soviet, Czech, East German, Chinese technicians—living quietly at a two-swimming-pool hotel built for Yanquis, putting in 12-hour portal-to-portal workdays to help decolonialize Cuba's economy—are an accepted part of the scene. Cubans troop by tens of thousands through the huge Chinese exhibition, seeing for themselves what kind of friends they have and what power lies in the hands of a determined, united people. From the world's plush concert-halls a genius flies in to show his affection with the gift of his art; the people are out cutting cane, so he follows them there and plays from a truck; his name is Rostropovich.

MOLINA CASE: To sane Americans it should be no surprise that their President, whose advent Cuba so hopefully hailed, is already known here as a man whose pretense of willingness to respect Cuba's sovereignty on any terms seems fantastic in light of Washington's daily deeds. Openly violating Cuban waters and airspace, abetting bomb-terrorism against women and children and planning armed attack, the U.S. now compounds the felony by the "murder" trial farce of the loyal Cuban Molina (see page 8).

If most Americans have forgotten the

(Continued on Page 10)

Editorial: Is another Korea in the making in Cuba?

AT THE IDES OF APRIL the Kennedy Administration brought our country closer to world conflict than at any time since the Truman Administration instigated the war in Korea nearly 11 years ago.

Counterrevolutionary Cuban forces and mercenaries, organized, equipped and fed by the U.S. and using arms and equipment which could have been obtained only with governmental consent, were attacking the island Republic of Cuba with the design of overthrowing the revolutionary government of Premier Fidel Castro. Despite pious pronouncements by the President and his Secretary of State that no U.S. forces or, as far as they could prevent, U.S. citizens would take part in the intervention, our government made it clear in statements by Secy. of State Dean Rusk and Ambassador Adlai Stevenson at the United Nations that our government sought and encouraged the overthrow of the Castro government.

At one turn in the events following the opening bombing attack on April 15, Cuba charged in the UN that two jet planes from a U.S. aircraft carrier had screened the escape of one of the attacking bombers; and that forces from the U.S. Naval base at Guantanamo had entered the surrounding Oriente Province, where a landing party of counterrevolutionaries had disembarked, and were engaged by Cuban forces. Thus, before the events in Cuba were more than a week end old, even the face-saving disavowals of official intervention took on a hollow ring.

THE EXTENT OF THE ATTACK was not clearly known to any in the U.S. other than those engaged in mounting it, since all communications with Cuba were cut off by April 17 and the only reports appearing in U.S. newspapers were those issued by the counterrevolutionary forces here. These reports spoke of landings of some 5,000 men, yet James Reston in the New York **Times** of April 18, after attending a State Dept. briefing, suggested that only 200-300 men may have been involved in the first landings. (The GUARDIAN tried but was unable to establish telephone and cable connections with Cedric Belfrage in Havana to get a first-hand story from that end.)

Those fortunate enough to be able to tune in the New York City municipal radio station, or New York TV channel 13, both of which cover important UN debates, got another side of the story from the brilliant and massively-documented presentation of Cuba's Chancellor Raul Roa, detailing the mounting of the attack on Cuba on U.S. soil and offering irrefutable proof of the use of U.S. arms and equipment. He also displayed a sustenance check of the sort paid to the families of mercenaries engaged in the attack.

EVASIVE IS NOT A SUFFICIENT WORD to describe Adlai Stevenson's reply to Roa; it was not only a complete evasion of the charges, but an arrogant insistence that the U.S. bore no responsibility to

(Continued on Page 2)

THE MAIL BAG

Hands off Cuba!

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

The Harvard **Crimson** April 14 reports a petition to President Kennedy on behalf of Cuba initiated by Linda Greenberg, '62, and already endorsed by several faculty members. The text reads:

"We the undersigned members of the faculty of Harvard University believing that the U.S. must honor the firm treaty commitments expressed in Article 15 of the Charter of the Organization of American States and in the provisions against the use of force toward the settlement of international disputes in the Charter of the UN, and believing that the conduct of U.S. foreign policy requires that our government demonstrate to the nations of Latin America and the world that we intend to honor those commitments, urge you to stop at once any flow of arms and money from the U.S. Government to political and military groups operating against the Cuban Government of Fidel Castro."

Among signers the **Crimson** listed H. Stuart Hughes, history; Reginald R. Isaacs, Charles Dyer Norton Professor of Regional Planning; Nadav Safran; Laurence Wylie, Douglas Dillon Professor of the Civilization of France; and Robert P. Wolff, philosophy.

Henry Kahn

A tonic

GARY, IND

The following appeared in the Gary **Post-Tribune** as part of a much longer and excellent letter on Cuba signed by Alfred E. Melton:

"Yes, Castro got his arms from Communist states and sympathy from the U.S.S.R., and Mr. Khrushchev took this opportunity to annoy the United States, but consider the following for a minute: Suppose the United States government would have recognized the Cuban revolution as a genuine revolution. Suppose it had sincerely assisted the revolutionary government in carrying out its reorganization of the economic base (thinking first of the meaning of the United States and second of our corporations) and suppose that we would have maintained a position of complete neutrality for and protection of the revolution, would Castro and Cuba then had a need for Russia and all that the association implies?

"If these steps had been taken or still could be taken, then this country could truly call itself a democracy and stand as a beacon light for the emerging peoples not only in Latin America but throughout the world. I believe that such revolutions in Latin America are inevitable, and our chance to remain in the forefront as a true leader of freedom hangs in the balance. If we act honestly and with true humanity and humility then we have a chance of setting Communism back 100 years; if we don't, then heaven help us."

I wrote to the paper (and they published) my thanks for giving me a tonic for my ailing soul.

A. B. Whitlock

Auto poll

HOLLYWOOD, FLA.

In Havana before the travel ban, a group of us took a unique "poll." We were sightseeing in an open-air children's train pulled by an authentic-looking engine along a broad highway bordering the ocean. We waved to Cubans who passed us in automobiles.

Most of them recognized us as a group of friendly Yankees. They not only waved back but laughed and shouted greetings.

But about every sixth car passed with its occupants looking straight ahead, faces unfriendly. There was no question in our minds how these people felt about what was going on. They invariably drove the newest, shiniest cars and usually had fewer passengers.

By my observation more than 80% of the Havana population were happy, excited and determined to defend their revolution. From all I could learn, they are even more enthusiastic in the rural areas.

John W. Harvey

Suggested sermon

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Religious leaders of all faiths, in their week-end sermons, seem to take pride in pointing out examples of poor ethical practices, not only in the U.S. but throughout the world.

Now our Air Force has stated that the RB-47 shot down off the Soviet coast carried two cannons in the rear, but "was un-armed" in that it did not carry any atomic bombs.

Many people would consider this an unethical statement. Does any GUARDIAN reader know of any sermons that have been delivered on the subject?

F. L. H.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

WASHINGTON, April 13—Not by any means the greatest "feat" in world history, but in many respects the biggest disgrace—this is another way to look at the successful launching of a man into outer space by the Soviets.

Millions of human beings in Russia live six to a room in slums and in hovels, while millions of others work in slave labor camps. Billions of dollars that should be expended to lift the living standards of a nation are spent instead for one of the most spectacular propaganda stunts of all times.

—David Lawrence in the New York **Herald Tribune**, April 14.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: J. A., Roxbury, Mass.

Long life!

HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.

Thank God for the GUARDIAN. People are getting more bewildered by the minute, with so little truth available.

I'm loath to brag about my age, but my grandmother, a granddaughter of the Surgeon General under George Washington, lived to 85 without a day's sickness, and I'm a runner-up, though not so energetic.

Kathryn M. Mau

Anthony Ahearn

"I used to be pretty big in advertising myself—but it just didn't give me that complete sense of fulfillment!"

Claude Williams' work

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Hearing Claude Williams speak in New York recently was most informative and encouraging. The understanding, courage, and accomplishments of this dynamic Southern leader deserves wide recognition by liberal and progressive people. The work he is doing should have their moral and financial support.

His method seems on the surface so simple: to teach brotherhood through Bible precepts. The South is called the "Bible Belt." The Bible is the one book everyone knows. But I found myself asking, "Isn't that what all the churches teach? And yet we know the people don't practice it just because it is taught. What assurance that Claude can do better?"

As I heard him speak I found the answer: Claude deals with the everyday problems of the working people and shows them that mutual self interest and common decency demands the brotherhood of man which the Bible also teaches. He calls this way of social and economic justice "THE WAY—the way of truth, brotherhood and righteousness." He teaches THE WAY to the grass-roots, work-a-day preachers, who are the natural leaders of the people.

Terror is rampant in the South, and those who work still have to work quietly. But Mr. Williams stated that never have the majority of white Southerners believed all the racial superiority teaching; and now, thanks to the work of the Negroes, shock at the vindicativeness of the hate groups, and the rising of new nations around the world, the whites are chafing, and beginning to speak out. The situation is ripe for real changes soon.

If this is so, then every aspect of the work for integration needs our full support now. Mr. Williams is an integral part of the total effort. Contributions may be sent to Marion S. Davidson, Box 29, Old Chelsea Station, New York 11, N.Y.

Ruth Wrege

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

FROM NOON TO LATE AFTERNOON on April 19 UN headquarters in New York City was besieged by a series of peace delegations, mostly women, many with baby carriages. From top UN officials—once they managed to penetrate an extraordinary blockade of police—they received earnest assurances that such expressions by the people were welcomed. Benjamin Cohen, assistant to the Secretary General, told an official American Peace Crusade delegation headed by Dr. Clementina J. Paolone:

"It is important that people of conscience are becoming more and more conscious of the fact that they have to tell their governments they want peace . . . To us, the important thing is that people of all kinds of ideological beliefs, representing all kinds of economic and racial groups, want peace. If the peoples are the cornerstone of the organization of things, they should be strong enough to make their governments act."

More than 600 persons participated and received more consideration than any similar delegations in the past, but the big New York papers found the incident un-newsworthy. Most failed to report it. The **Times** gave it seven lines on page 51.

—From the National Guardian, April 25, 1951

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Vol. 13, No. 28 401 April 24, 1961

EDITORIAL REPORT TO READERS

Cuba--another Korea?

(Continued from Page 1)

protect the Castro regime "from the natural wrath of the Cuban people." Later, in a rather badly read rendition of a bad speech, Stevenson spoke of his aversion to "tyranny of the minority or the majority," in an obvious reference to the acknowledged fact that the masses of Cuban people back the Castro government to the hilt.

Following his documentation of the mounting of the attack on his country, using stories in the New York **Times, Time** magazine, **U.S. News & World Report** and dozens of other sources, and detailing the attacks on Cuba by U.S. based sea and air craft in the last few weeks and months, Chancellor Roa produced photographs of arms including 57-mm. guns manufactured by Firestone, 30-caliber carbines manufactured by IBM, CIA radio equipment, Colt M-3 machine guns and 45-caliber Thompsons—all dropped in Cuba to counterrevolutionaries in the Escambray Mountains and now on display (as Belfrage reported) in the Capitol in Havana.

Was it not true, Roa asked, that such equipment can be sold only through treaties between governments?

Stevenson ignored these and other questions, twitted Roa with having in 1959 written an attack on Soviet intervention in Hungary in 1956, and concluded that if Cuba were suffering, it was from self-inflicted wounds; and if the Castro government were overthrown, it would be by Cubans, not (as he said) "Americans." (The Cubans consider themselves Americans, in fact have a sign over their International Airport in Havana, "Welcome to Free America.")

FORTUNATELY FOR PUBLIC OPINION in the U.S. hundreds and perhaps thousands of North Americans have visited Cuba in the two years between the inception of the Revolutionary government and the travel ban invoked by the U.S. in January in breaking off diplomatic relations with Cuba. They know well that Cuba's government is far from a tyranny, that the Cuban people want it desperately and will defend it with their lives, and that the progress Cuba has made in its two years of revolutionary change stagger the imagination of those who have not seen it first hand.

It is indeed a cruel jape of the U.S. press that the target of the first bombing and strafing attack has been continuously referred to in U.S. press reports as Camp Libertad. What they call Camp Libertad (for the purpose of making a bombing attack seem justified) is rather **Ciudad Libertad** (Liberty City), one of the Centros Escolar (school centers) into which Cuba has converted all fourteen of the military camps maintained by the Batista government which Castro's forces overthrew. Under Batista Ciudad Libertad was Camp Columbia, a hated and feared military installation (and officers' country club) where Batista had a house.

When the GUARDIAN tourists visited **Ciudad Libertad** in December, the transformation of all its barracks and war buildings into school rooms and dormitories was almost complete, and many of the tourists photographed gardeners presiding over thousands of flowering plants, all growing in coffee cans and other do-it-yourself flower pots, awaiting transplanting on the **campos** after the construction crews had moved along.

SOME VISITORS TO CUBA MANAGED to visit Cienaga de Zapata, the "swampland" where the invaders claim to have established a bridgehead. Under Batista, no invader could have landed there, because it was a crocodile marsh inhabited only by **carboneros** (charcoal makers) living in stilt houses and traveling by boat as through the Everglades. But in the last two years Cienaga de Zapata (so-called because of the boot-shaped peninsula which shelters it) has been converted into a peoples' playland, its swamps drained, the crocodiles and fish transferred to preserves, and a highway built from "The Boot" to Matanzas on the north coast.

Thus invaders today would find a perfect beachhead at Cienaga de Zapata, complete with cabanas and charcoal fireplaces, from which to conduct (as Chancellor Roa pointed out) their war against peasants and workers.

WE URGE AND BEG EVERY GUARDIAN READER to write to the President today to halt the aggression against Cuba, to take the CIA out of the business of counterrevolution, and to resume normal and friendly relations with the Cuban people—not for fear of Soviet rockets, but for the love of mankind and respect for a people's right to own its own country and determine its own economic destiny.

—THE GUARDIAN

NO BASIC CHANGES SEEN IN FIRST 100 DAYS

Kennedy Administration disappoints Soviet analysts

By W. G. Burchett
Guardian staff correspondent

MOSCOW

AFTER THE FIRST few reminders in official messages of the days of Rooseveltian friendship in Soviet-American relations, the name of Roosevelt has not been mentioned again here during the first 100 days of the Kennedy Administration. The hopeful, almost sympathetic, caution with which the Soviet press and public figures handled the new Administration in the early days after inauguration have now been replaced by some sharp criticisms of figures within the inner circle.

But there has been no sniping at President Kennedy himself as yet. There is, in fact, a considerable bending over backwards in making allowances for holdovers from the previous Administration who at their own levels may be deliberately trying to make application of better judgments impossible. The official who insisted on reviving fingerprinting for Soviet journalists; or the one responsible for another dubious—in Soviet eyes—RB-47 flight about the time President Kennedy had said they were suspended; the occasional outburst of a general or an admiral: these are still treated charitably, either not mentioned at all or with reticence. The RB-47 flight was not reported at all, for instance. The Kennedy press conferences are given fair coverage, and so are any statements by Dean Rusk or Adlai Stevenson or Chester Bowles.

HOPES DIMMED: Judging by comments on the various statements by Rusk, Stevenson and Bowles, carefully studied here for clues as to new ap-

Eccles, London Daily Worker

"I can't understand why Powers didn't commit suicide — everyone else here is prepared to!"

proaches on foreign policy, the Russians are disappointed. No one is naive enough here—or in Washington—to think that fixed positions on either side would melt away at the touch of a new Administration or because of Moscow's receptive attitude towards it. But there were undisguised hopes here that the first hundred days might reveal means of melting away some of the ice-floes which are bobbing around between the fixed positions. These hopes appear to have been dissipated.

Chester Bowles' March 14 speech at the National Farmer's Union convention in Washington was published, for instance, in **Za Rubezhom** (From Abroad) together with comments by editor D. Kraminov, who noted that it contained the first hint of a foreign policy program given by anyone prominent in the new Administration. Kraminov's comments are interesting not only in their content but because they reveal how anxiously Washington speeches are studied for a trace of a new line. (**Za Rubezhom** is the official weekly of the Soviet Union of Journalists, and is by far the most important paper on current international topics. It specializes in publishing entire texts of speeches of important Western leaders, reprinting entire articles of leading Western commentators, often adding its own comment as in the case of the Bowles' speech. It began publication only about a year ago and has become very popular among intellectuals.)

Noting that the President and Secretary of State "usually skipped around corners, taking refuge behind convenient answers such as 'the question is still being studied,'" Kraminov goes on to say that it was "only from a few sentences and remarks let slip and also from a few moves made that diplomatic correspondents could form some notion of the new Administration's policy." Bowles is given credit for a more "realistic estimate" of the international situation, especially in admitting that it is not only the "balance of military potentials" but also the "balance of political and economic potentials" that is also going against the U.S.

WRONG CONCLUSIONS: Bowles' analysis of the ills of U.S. foreign policy in the light of the contemporary scene and the sweeping changes taking place in the world, Kraminov—who, as a former deputy editor to both **Pravda** and **Izvestia**, is regarded as one of the foremost Soviet political analysts — also finds "realistic and correct." But he finds that Bowles "neither drew the proper conclusions nor evolved the necessary remedies."

In announcing that the international interests of the U.S. are "incompatible with the global aims of Soviet long-range strategy," Kraminov says Bowles was merely paraphrasing his predecessors who denounced as "the hand of Moscow" any political, economic or social changes appearing anywhere in the world. And Bowles demanded that the Russians revise these aims.

As long as the price of Soviet-American rapprochement is set in these terms, any negotiations are "foredoomed in advance." It is beyond Washington's power, says Kraminov, and, by implication, beyond Moscow's power also. "The example the socialist countries present is more appealing to peoples choosing a way of future development than that of the capitalist West. The Soviet Union isn't exporting its system, but it can't forbid others to emulate it. And it would be a good thing were the U.S., as Bowles says, to let 'the other countries shape their destinies by themselves.'"

DISARMAMENT: It is when Kraminov touches on disarmament prospects that the picture becomes more depressing. This is one of the issues where positions are not frozen and one where the Russians believed some progress could be made. It is an issue which I think they regard as the touchstone to attitudes on all others of importance.

"The Under Secretary of State," continues Kraminov, "speaks frequently of 'realism' and the impossibility of 'escaping reality.' But a 'realistic' approach eludes him when he turns to concrete issues, in particular to the key problem of today—disarmament. Bowles has shouldered the thankless and futile task of confusing and drawing a veil of fog over a very simple issue. That is that the new Administration, just as its predecessor, does not want disarmament and will be against any disarmament, total or partial. Talk about the dangers of disarmament, talk about hypocritical compacts and the necessity of coping with sundry aggression (from whom and against whom?)—all this is merely needed as a screen to cover up Washington's craving to go on with the arms race.

"The Republicans at any rate did not boast of burning the candle far into the morning over this problem. They did not create a special department with a big staff for disarmament, nor did they appoint about a dozen special aides to nearly all the members of the cabinet. The clamor now being raised in Washington around all this suggests that the yearning for disarmament is so strong both inside and outside the U.S. that a large pool of specially-trained men is needed to lull and hoodwink the public."

BARREN DREAM: Bowles is criticized for his call for a "society of the non-communist world," and his "new bold approach" to the Afro-Asian and Latin-American world is termed "hazy and contradictory." Any attempt to organize the newly independent Afro-Asian countries to a "society of the non-communist" world—under the aegis of Washington—is described by Kraminov as "a barren dream." Noting a change of tone from the noisier sounds of power politics of the Eisenhower Administration, Kraminov comments in conclusion that so far, at least, this does not indicate any change of heart.

"Washington's tone has changed. It has become slyer and softer. It now has people who know how to turn a pat, liberal phrase or engage in downright demagogy. Washington has realized that times have changed. It is scared by the character and scope of the changes in the world today. But so far it doesn't seem to have drawn the necessary conclusions."

Adlai Stevenson came in for a similar reproachful broadside by "Observer" in **Izvestia** after his speech at a Waldorf-Astoria luncheon on March 2. He was taken to task for his thesis that the Soviet Union was trying to take over from the crumbling empires in Asia and Africa and that the UN must rush in to fill the "void."

THE CONGO: Under the present set-up the UN represents the U.S. in Soviet eyes and "Observer" commented that the real content of the speech was the formulation of a policy of "filling 'voids' by the UN . . . actually a policy of intervention of the imperialist forces headed by the U.S. under the cover of the blue flag of the UN." This is a policy not too far different, according to "Observer," of the bit of "void-filling" the Eisenhower Administration tried in the Arab East and elsewhere.

As for Stevenson's charge that tension in the Congo was caused by the Soviet Union's efforts to replace Belgium, "Observer" asks:

"Who dismembered the Congo [and] displayed such consideration for Tshombe, Mobutu, Kalonji and other accomplices . . . ? Who betrayed Patrice Lumumba . . . and turned him over to the executioners? . . . What is the trademark on the weapons of the Mobutu gangs? What identification marks are found on Tshombe's planes which bomb the peaceful population?"

Answering Stevenson's plea that the Soviet Union renounce "claims" to replace the crumbling empires, "Observer" sums up in conclusion: "All this is just a lot of learned words meaning nothing, an attempt to shift blame where it does not belong. The Soviet Union has never had any such claims. It was not the Soviet Union which proclaimed the 'big stick' policy. The bankruptcy of the Dulles-Eisenhower government was, in fact, the bankruptcy of the 'big stick' policy, one that can only lead to a blind alley or . . . disaster. It is a pity that Mr. Stevenson came out in defense of

SECY. OF STATE RUSK (L.) WITH SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO
Russians hope their talks will lead to improvement in Soviet-American relations

this bankrupt philosophy and, whether intentionally or not, plays into the hands of the 'cold war' champions."

EXASPERATED: The facility with which the present Administration, like the last, brands as "Communist aggression" the consequences of a U.S.-Thailand-backed attack on what even most Western governments then regarded as the legal government of Laos, obviously exasperates everyone here. Reports of U.S. fleet and troop movements in the area are received with angry mutterings and reminders that it was "after all" a Democratic Administration at the time of the Korean affair. The Soviet press points out that it was not "Communist aggressors" that attacked Vientiane—or shelled it from foreign territory—it was American-armed and backed troops whom most Western and neutral countries at that time described as rebels.

And although the Kennedy Administration now says it wants a "neutral and independent" Laos, the present fighting, in the Soviet view, resulted entirely from an American-backed attempt to overthrow the government of Prince Souvanna Phouma precisely because it was a "neutralist" government. At the time of writing, the Soviet government has still not said its final word on the Laos situation or given its views on how the fighting may be stopped. But by every published commentary here, it is clear that Khrushchev will never accept the view that the U.S. has some special rights to intervene—whether under a UN, SEATO or any other flag—in every situation where things are not going the way Washington had planned.

THE REAL TEST: In summing up, the Soviet appreciation of the "first hundred days" seems to be that despite a change in tone and emphasis with which policies are presented, the hard facts of American foreign policy show no signs of change, at least on the fixed positions such as Laos, the Congo and others. This was more or less expected. But there are still secret hopes nursed in Soviet bosoms that the Gromyko-Rusk, Gromyko-Stevenson conversations have been probing the ground for normalizing some other aspects of Soviet-American relations. The attitude towards Kennedy himself is still very much one of "wait and see." The real test will come when the new Administration's attitude on disarmament is smoked out into the open.

The facts on the putsch in Cuba

(Continued from Page 1)

casualties.

After the air raids Premier Castro termed Cuba "the victim of criminal imperialist aggression violating all norms of international law." He said: "If this is a prelude to invasion the nation is prepared for it. It will resist and destroy with an iron hand any force which intends to disembark on our land."

The U.S. and the Cuban exile group it supports sought to use the fliers who carried out the raids as manifesting widespread defections from Castro's ranks. They maintained that the flyers had defected the morning of the raids from Cuban bases.

The pilot of one of the two planes that landed in Florida—a third was reported to have landed in Kingston, Jamaica—was said to have asked Florida's chief immigration officer Edward Ahrens to withhold his name to protect his family in Cuba from reprisal.

Jose Miro Cardona, president of the U.S.-forged Cuban Revolutionary Council, also withheld details purportedly for the same reasons. Another report—designed to bolster the story of the deserting flyers—said that the Cuban government owned several B-26 bombers which previously had belonged to Batista.

FULL OF HOLES: There were gaping holes in these stories. Newspapers printed an easily identifiable full-face photograph of the Florida pilot. If the flyers had indeed deserted on April 15, the Castro government could easily determine this by calling a roll.

The counterrevolutionary exiles also own B-26's; the New York **Times** (April 16) reported that "the Guatemalan complex of bases" where the exile air force and paratroop units are concentrated "includes a 4,500-foot airstrip" and a stock of "C-54 and C-46 transports as well as B-26 bombers."

At a military funeral for the dead in the Havana raid, Castro challenged Kennedy to present the raiders before the UN to prove their defection. He said they had come from Guatemala. The **Times** reported (April 17) that Washington officials "were avoiding probing questions today on the point of origin."

A SOLEMN CHARGE: When the 99-member UN Political Committee met on the morning of April 17, Roa said he "must announce officially . . . that the Republic of Cuba was this morning invaded by a mercenary force organized, financed and armed by the government of the U.S. and coming from Guatemala and Florida." He added:

"The government of Cuba wishes note to be taken of its solemn accusation against the government of the U.S. . . . and lays the responsibility on the shoulders of the U.S."

U.S. chief delegate Adlai Stevenson followed Roa. He "categorically" denied that any "offensive" has been launched from anywhere in the U.S. or that the U.S. had committed any "aggression" against Cuba (see Report to Readers). His protestations sounded hollow in the light of the CIA's attempts to repeat its coup in Guatemala to bring down the Arbenz government.

THE CIA STORY: The prolonged and painstaking efforts of the CIA to build up an anti-Castro counterrevolutionary force both on American soil and abroad, and aid to saboteurs within Cuba, have hardly been secret.

The **Times** on April 7 reported that "special boats with powerful radio transmitters make daily runs [from Florida] to the Cuban coast." When the U.S. Wild Life Service recently captured a vessel carrying explosives to saboteurs in Cuba, the vessel was ordered released and "the inspectors were told to be less observant next time."

On April 8 the **Times** headlined an exile force story from Miami: "More Men Leaving Each Night for Camps." On April 12 the **Times** again reported from Miami: "Not a night goes by without the departure from here of khaki-uniformed volunteers for . . . camps in Guatemala, near New Orleans in Louisiana, near Houston, Texas, and in other U.S. and foreign locations."

THE MENACE: I. F. Stone's Weekly devoted its entire April 17 issue to a detailed indictment of the CIA and asked: "When is Bob Kennedy going to indict Allen Dulles?" Stone concluded:

"A government agency with many millions of dollars at its disposal, subject to no public check, allowed to habituate itself to the use of criminal methods (that is what cloak-and-dagger means), may easily become a menace not only to peace abroad but to free government at home."

The **Times** reported (April 10 and 16) that the U.S. base in Guantanamo was strengthening its naval power and that Washington planned to go through with its naval maneuvers off the Florida coast during the week end of April 22-23—an act which would be taken as highly provocative by Cuba.

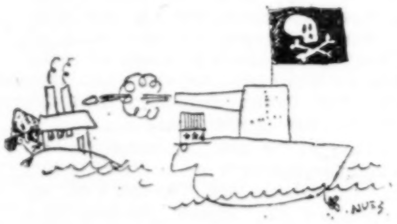
PRESS COMMENT: The series of events occurred just as several Latin American members of the UN, led by Mexico, were working on a resolution calling for a peaceful negotiated settlement of U.S.-Cuban differences. For the present the resolution was stymied by a U.S. demand—against the wishes of the Latin American sponsors—for the insertion of a preamble denouncing the Castro government in the most extreme terms. The bitter debate on the Cuban charges of U.S. aggression took precedence.

The American press has furnished considerable justification for the fear that the U.S. would become militarily involved in the counterrevolutionary attempts to overthrow the Castro government. While President Kennedy at his April 12 press conference said that "there will not be under any conditions an intervention in Cuba by U.S. armed forces," many correspondents took his statement with more than a grain of salt.

WHAT ABOUT LATER? N.Y. **Post** columnist William V. Shannon (April 16) called Kennedy's responses to questions on Cuba "deliberately evasive and unresponsive." He said Kennedy "has not definitely made up his mind about what he may do about Castro over the long term." He added:

"[Kennedy] does not exclude the possibility of covert American support for a major military operation at some future date. He has decided what the U.S. will not do in the immediate future; he has not decided what it might do in the more distant future . . . By temperament, he is too much of an activist to take a wholly passive position or put legal considerations foremost."

The New York **Times'** Washington bureau chief James Reston said (April 14) that Kennedy "clarified but did not end the debate within his Administration about how far to go in helping the Cuban refugees overthrow the Castro government."



Nuez in Revoucion, Havana

The **Wall Street Journal's** Washington correspondent Philip Geyelin on the same day spelled out the possibilities in greater detail. He said that "possibly in a few weeks, probably by the end of summer," there will be "a major effort by exile groups to topple Fidel Castro." He added:

"No amount of protestation by the Kennedy Administration that the U.S. will keep hands off seems likely to prevent this country from becoming intimately and perhaps quite uncomfortably entangled in the effort to overthrow Castro."

NO DIFFERENCE: The press skepticism was not out of order: Both the Kennedy Administration and the press in general—conservative and liberal alike—have accepted the premise that Castro must be overthrown. On this there is no debate. Rather the arguments involve questions of "tactics" and "timing" and the extent of U.S. military intervention.

Thus the N.Y. **World Telegram** said (April 5): "To put it bluntly, Mr. Kennedy has decided there can be no deals with Castro and there is no point in pulling punches."

In the first of a two-part analysis of "U.S. and Cuba" (April 12) Reston began with this categorical assumption: "The self-interest of the nation undoubtedly requires the overthrow of the Cuban government of Fidel Castro."

The **Post's** Shannon said (April 9): "It would be a blessing to rid the hemisphere of Castro." An editorial in the same issue of the **Post** said: "There are two clear issues. The first is whether the U.S. should actively sponsor an external military assault against Castro's regime or await the action of the fighters for freedom within Cuba."

The **New Republic** (April 17) was worried by "the possibility that Castroism might infect wider areas," but recovered sufficiently to comment: "Our problem is how to help immunize the continent against this infection."

FALSE PREMISE: This then was how the press saw it:

- Reston concluded that the real issues are whether Castro "has to be brought down now" or whether to wait until the Administration is "sure that we do not jump from the Cuban crisis into a lot of other crises elsewhere in the world."
- Shannon charged the CIA with organizing the exiles and planning an invasion of Cuba at the behest of the National Security Council. But, he said, since Castro must be eliminated, "this may be the time to strike."
- The **Post** editorial favored an internal uprising in Cuba to a U.S.-sponsored "military excursion."
- The **New Republic** advised against "the identification of the U.S. government at this point with an insurrection in Cuba" because "timing and tactics are supremely important."

The danger of a discussion on these one-sided premises is this: If the exiled groups fail to overthrow the Cuban government, there is likely to be a clamor in the U.S. press for Washington to intervene militarily in Cuba. If this happened, most of the nations of the hemisphere would be outraged.

A DIGNIFIED LIFE: For to the Latin American countries of any stature—and to practically all of the people—the premise that "Castro must be brought down" is thoroughly unacceptable.

Brazil's President Janio Quadros, at his first press conference since he took office, said on April 14 that Brazil "supports and defends the right of [Cuba's] self-determination." He said he considered Fidel Castro "imbued with idealism and firmly disposed to assure the independence of his country to assure a more dignified life for its citizens." Quadros called for "comprehension and tolerance" for the Castro government and a peaceful settlement of Cuban-U.S. differences.

David L. Graham reported from Mexico City (York, Pa. **Gazette and Daily**, April 3): "The Mexicans have a profound sympathy for the Cuban people in their struggle for a better life—regardless of the way they choose to attain it. This concept is strikingly absent from U.S. concern about a 'Communist beachhead only 90 miles from our shores.' The Mexicans ask: 'Is Cuba a sovereign nation, or isn't it?' "

HANDS OFF: Graham said that to most Mexicans the U.S. economic and diplomatic reprisals against Cuba are "aggression, naked and indefensible, a violation of the Bogota agreements and the UN charter." He warned:

"A huge wave of anti-American feeling, mightier than that which flooded the hemisphere when Guatemala was 'liberated,' is poised above the U.S. . . . The key question, the acid test of America's intentions, is Cuba. And for the majority of Mexicans the case is clear—hands off!"

Throughout Latin America today the slogan and the sentiment are the same.

How we violate our own law

STONE'S WEEKLY (March 27) noted the following laws and treaties violated by allowing our war on Cuba:

"Whoever, within the U.S., enlists or enters himself, or hires or retains another to enlist or enter himself, or to go beyond the jurisdiction of the U.S. with intent, to be enlisted or entered in the service of any foreign prince, state, colony, district or people as a soldier or as a marine or seaman . . . shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than three years, or both." (U.S. Code, Title 18, Section 959).

"Whoever, within the U.S., knowingly begins or sets foot or provides or prepares a means for or furnishes the money for, or takes part in, any military or naval expedition to be carried on from thence against the territory or domination of any foreign prince or state, or of any colony, district or people with whom the U.S. is at peace, shall be fined not more than $3,000 or imprisoned not more than three years or both." (U.S. Code, Title 18, Section 960).

"The High Contracting Parties declare inadmissible the intervention of any of them, directly or indirectly, and for whatever reason, in the internal or external affairs of any other of the Parties." (Article I, Buenos Aires Protocol of Non-Intervention, signed by U.S. and Cuba among others, Dec. 23, 1936).

"The High Contracting Parties, solemnly reaffirming their commitments made in earlier international conventions and declarations, as well as in the Charter of the UN, agree to refrain from the threat or the use of force, or from any other means of coercion for the settlement of their controversies, and to have recourse at all times to pacific procedures." (Article I, Pact of Bogota, American Treaty of Pacific Settlement, by U.S. and Cuba among others, April 30, 1948).

BEGIN TERMS IN MAY

Braden & Wilkinson denied a rehearing

THE U.S. Supreme Court on April 17 denied a petition to re-hear the cases of Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson whose contempt of Congress convictions the Court upheld in February.

Braden and Wilkinson must surrender to Federal prison authorities in Atlanta, Ga., the first week in May to begin one-year sentences. Both were cited for contempt after they refused on First Amendment grounds to answer questions of the House Committee on Un-American Activities at hearings in Atlanta in 1958.

Dissenting from the February opinion of the five-man majority, Justice Hugo Black wrote: "When [the nation] begins to send its dissenters, such as Barenblatt, Uphaus, Wilkinson, and now Braden to jail, the liberties indispensable to its existence must be fast disappearing." Noting Braden's activities as an integration leader, Justice Black said the decision was one "which may well strip the Negro of the aid of many of the white people who have been willing to speak up in his behalf."

In the Washington **Post**, Irving Brant, historian and biographer of James Madison, called on President Kennedy to free the two men. He said: "There has been no clearer call for swift executive clemency since President Thomas Jefferson, as his first official action, released all the victims of the infamous Sedition Act of 1798."

A number of groups are already preparing clemency appeals.

JERUSALEM: THE CURIOUS ONES ARE THOSE TOO YOUNG TO REMEMBER HORROR
A security guard chats with children peering through the courthouse fence

THE GUARDIAN REPORTS FROM THE TRIAL

Eichmann: The man, the judges, the mood

By Ursula Wassermann
Guardian staff correspondent

JERUSALEM

THE TENSEST MOMENT in the first week of the trial of Adolf Eichmann occurred a couple of minutes before the trial officially opened, as the accused was led into his bullet-proof glass dock, where he will sit throughout the proceedings, guarded by an inspector and two policemen. Tall, lean, wearing a dark lounge suit, bought for him at a Jerusalem tailor the day before, Eichmann showed no outward sign of nervousness at first, except for a momentary twiddling of his thumbs.

Later, as the indictment was read out paragraph by paragraph, first in Hebrew and then in German, the defendant stood erect, like a non-commissioned officer, his hands motionless against his sides, and the only words spoken by him were two **Jawohls**, once in reply to whether he was, indeed, Adolf Eichmann, and the second time in reply to the judge's question as to whether he had understood the terms of the indictment.

Bespectacled—with special unbreakable eye-glasses, so that they may not serve as a possible weapon for suicide—he continued to follow the morning proceedings in icy silence. It was, as a Nigerian newspaperman put it, as if he were determined not to "let these Jews see that he was in any way afraid."

GUARDED BY UZIS: The court building, originally planned as a **Beit Ha'am**—the literal translation means House of the People—for meetings, concerts and official gatherings, was completed in time for the trial, since Jerusalem's ordinary court houses would have proved inadequate, both from the point of security and from accommodating the nearly one thousand persons in attendance.

Surrounded by wire, the compound is policed by border police armed with submachine guns — the famous **Uzis** — there are so many police in attendance inside the compound that the rest of Jerusalem must obviously be denuded of police. All visitors, including some 400 foreign journalists, with the exception of diplomats only, are searched upon entering the compound; the young lady who searched me twice—both for the morning and the afternoon session—even inquired as to the contents of a tiny silver pill box I carried in my handbag.

With observers from 40 foreign countries—Austria, West Germany and Yugoslavia have sent special delegations; the rest are represented by their diplomatic staffs here—journalists and spectators, the court was filled to capacity as the judges entered at 9 o'clock sharp on the morning of April 11. The court—Supreme Court Justice Moshe Landau, who presides over the proceedings, and Justices Benjamin Halevi and Yitzhak Raveh—has one interesting characteristic: all three judges are German-born and all three of them settled in Israel in 1933, immediately after Hitler came to power.

Justice Landau is the youngest of the three—born in 1912—and has the quiet air and manner of an English judge (he received his law training in London). Halevi, two years older, gives the impression of a much younger man—brilliant, quick-witted and one of the country's great legal minds, by a few brief interventions, he already has captured the spectators' imagination.

DEFENSE ASKS FOR DISMISSAL: West German attorney Robert Servatius, Eichmann's defense counsel, during the first day asked that the entire court disqualify itself on the grounds that all and any Jews are ipso facto prejudiced when it comes to trying a Nazi. "The fear with regard to a possibility of bias exists, therefore, towards all the judges to the same extent," Servatius declared, since "the whole Jewish nation was concerned in the catastrophe of extermination." The judges rejected his contention.

Servatius' further requests for dismissal were based on the grounds that the accused had already been "tried and condemned" by the world press; that the law under which he is being tried—the Law for the Punishment of Nazis and Nazi Collaborators of 1950—is a **post factum** law dealing with crimes which were "perpetrated prior to the establishment of the State of Israel, outside the borders of the State of Israel, inflicted on people who were not citizens of the State of Israel."

"DURESS" CLAIMED: Aware that the Nazi leaders at Nuremberg were also tried under a **post factum** law, he immediately claimed that Eichmann had "not belonged to the circle of leaders; and he cannot be measured by the same yardstick."

As for expiation, the defense denied any such possibility: "The accused cannot expiate for what his state has done or perpetrated. If there is place for expiation, it should be incumbent upon the state which acted through the instrumentality of the accused. The state was involved in actions, and it is the state which is responsible for the aftermath of its activities . . . [not] the accused who was dragged into them by the state."

Some in the court shuddered at these words—the old line, repeated time and again from Nuremberg on—that no Nazi was ever responsible for anything he did, since he was always acting under orders.

The third count on which Servatius demanded dismissal was the fact that Eichmann had been forcibly abducted from Argentina and that the declaration he had signed at the time—stipulating his willingness to stand trial before an Israeli court—was signed under "duress."

PROSECUTOR SHAKES EICHMANN: Outside the court, the crowds stand silent, with mounted police occasionally urging them to keep moving; mostly they are youngsters—Jerusalem's special youngsters, with high hats and side-locks, shunning photographers, gaping at judges and diplomats and newsmen, with the villain of the piece never in sight, for Eichmann's cell is somewhere inside the court building. There are few adults about. The survivors of his death camps shun the site, terrified of having to relive the same horrifying, traumatic experience.

Inside the court, during the afternoon session, with Attorney-General Gideon Hausner rebutting the defense arguments, Eichmann seemed less composed than during the morning session. He worked his mouth and wiped his face frequently with his handkerchief, although most of us felt chilled in the air-conditioned court.

MAN IN A CAGE: One can hardly bear to watch Eichmann for more than a few minutes, for the sight of a man in a cage is a depressing sight—even a Nazi. And one has to remind oneself of horror piled upon horror and realize, each time anew, that this insignificant-looking man is charged with the most gruesome operation of genocide in the history of the human race. Perhaps the most terrifying aspect of all is that he seems such an ordinary man, and that there were—and are—thousands of such "ordinary" men, any one of whom, given the chance, would probably have done as "good a job" as Adolf Eichmann.

'OPERATION ALERT'

A giant protest planned in N. Y. CD Day Apr. 28

THE EIGHTH ANNUAL Civil Defense Day will be celebrated April 28 with air raid drills across the country. Designated as Operation Alert, it has become an annual sports event where grown-ups play at war. It is unlikely that the game will ever rival the World Series in popularity. Most greet the day with apathy and look on the fumbling wardens as harmless zealots. Few see that huddling in doorways is protection against the fire storms that sweep a city after an H-bomb attack.

For some the games are not harmless. They see the drills as a dangerous foolishness which conditions people to war and encourages the false notion that defense against nuclear attack is possible.

In New York doubters have protested every year since 1955 by refusing to take cover when the sirens sound. There were only a handful the first year and most of them were from the pacifist **Catholic Worker.** By 1959 the movement grew to 19 pickets at City Hall Park, including non-pacifists. They were augmented by a young housewife and her children (see the Spectator, p. 12) who sat out the drill on a park bench.

LAST YEAR: A loose-knit, ad hoc group, the Civil Defense Protest Committee, was organized for last year's demonstration. About 1,000 persons gathered in City Hall Park before the drill. Some left the park when police asked them to "please obey the law." But about 500 stood their ground.

Police were baffled by the crowd. Henry G. Hearn, assistant chief inspector of CD Auxiliary Police, mounted a bench, waved his arm in a wide arc and said: "I now place you all under arrest." But he had brought only two wagons. Police picked up 15 men and 11 women at random and put them in the wagons. They served five days in jail.

There were also protests at most of the colleges and at several high schools. Students sat outside or gathered in corridors and refused to take shelter.

THIS YEAR: This year the CDPC expects even larger demonstrations. Telephone committees have been at work for weeks lining up demonstrators. Groups have been formed in many high schools and colleges.

Demonstrators are to come to City Hall park by 3:30 p.m.—the drill is scheduled for 4 p.m. Those who feel they must obey the law will take shelter at the sirens' blast or when approached by a police officer. But most will refuse to take cover.

The committee includes pacifists and non-pacifists. It welcomes all who wish to protest. Chairman is Dr. Robert Gilmore of the American Friends Service Committee; Rev. A. J. Muste is treasurer. Further information is available from the committee at 5 Beekman St., New York 38, N.Y. Telephone BE 3-0462.

Moscow: Civil defense—what's that?

To clarify conflicting reports on civil defense preparations in the U.S.S.R., the GUARDIAN queried its Moscow correspondent W. G. Burchett. This is his reply:

MOSCOW

TO THE VERY BEST of my knowledge, there is no such thing. I have been here for four years and there have certainly never been any civil defense exercises.

I live in a huge apartment house; it has no shelters or instructions or paraphernalia of civil defense. My kids go to kindergarten and school here; such things as civil defense have never been heard of. I've never met a Soviet citizen who is enrolled in any civil defense organization—so I suppose it doesn't exist.

They do have a very deep subway system, which is rapidly being expanded out to the new suburbs encircling Moscow. Leningrad also has a subway, Kiev is building one and Baku has plans. Could that be civil defense?

I think they are building houses so fast—one of every two city dwellers is due for a new apartment by 1965—that the authorities just don't believe there will be a new world war. Economic planning is based on this assumption, I believe.

THE COLD WAR VS. HIGHER LIVING STANDARDS

Unemployment to be used as club to keep wages down

By Ed Sears

A SPECTER is haunting America—the specter of unemployment. All the powers of the Affluent Society seem powerless to eradicate it. Instead, they accept and abet it.

In this, the 25th year of the Keynesian Revolution and the 15th year of the Employment Act, the leaders of America can only promise their people a continued high rate of unemployment.

The members of President Kennedy's Council of Economic Advisers recently warned Congress that even if the economy at the end of this year were to "achieve an all-time record level 3.5% higher" than at the end of 1960, "the unemployment problem would still be of roughly the same magnitude as today." (Statement of Council of Economic Advisers Before the Joint Economic Committee, March 6, p. 9). Unemployment at the time they made this statement was at a postwar high.

REASONABLE TARGET: Having abandoned as unrealistic any attempt to reduce significantly the present levels of idleness for the remainder of the year, the Administration's economists are striving to bring it down to 4% of the labor force by 1962 or 1963. They regard this level "as a reasonable target for full utilization of resources consistent with reasonable price stability."

Coak, AFL-CIO News, Washington, D.C.
Can't seem to get ahead

Translated into real terms, this 4% target means that the Administration is prepared to accept as "reasonable" a permanent army of 3,000,000 to 3,500,000 unemployed in the years ahead. A lower level of unemployment, the Administration reasons, would not be consistent "with reasonable price stability."

Behind this gibberish lies the theory that very high levels of employment are inflationary. In actuality, the Administration is really not worrying so much about inflation in general but about one specific type of inflation, "wage inflation."

During periods of high employment, labor can make some real gains. It is precisely at these times that labor can win substantial wage increases, improve working conditions, and enjoy higher living standards.

GAINS OPPOSED: The Kennedy Administration is determined to prevent labor from making these gains. Kennedy, in fact, has no choice but to oppose them, unless he decides to end the cold war.

The cold war has been very costly to the American people. Its real costs up to now have been hidden because American capitalism, greatly enriched by World War II, had seemingly inexhaustible resources. This picture of endless wealth gave rise to the twin myths of American invincibility on the part of the Right and American exceptionalism on the part of certain sections of the Left.

The appearance of a persistent deficit in this country's balance of international payments accompanied by a huge outflow of gold acted as a warning signal to American capitalism that the joy ride was over; that the time had come when America had to dig into its pockets to pay for the cold war.

THE SOLUTION: A persistent deficit in the balance of payments signifies that a country is consuming more than it is producing. It can only be resolved through an increase in production of goods saleable on the world markets, or a decrease in consumption or a combination of both.

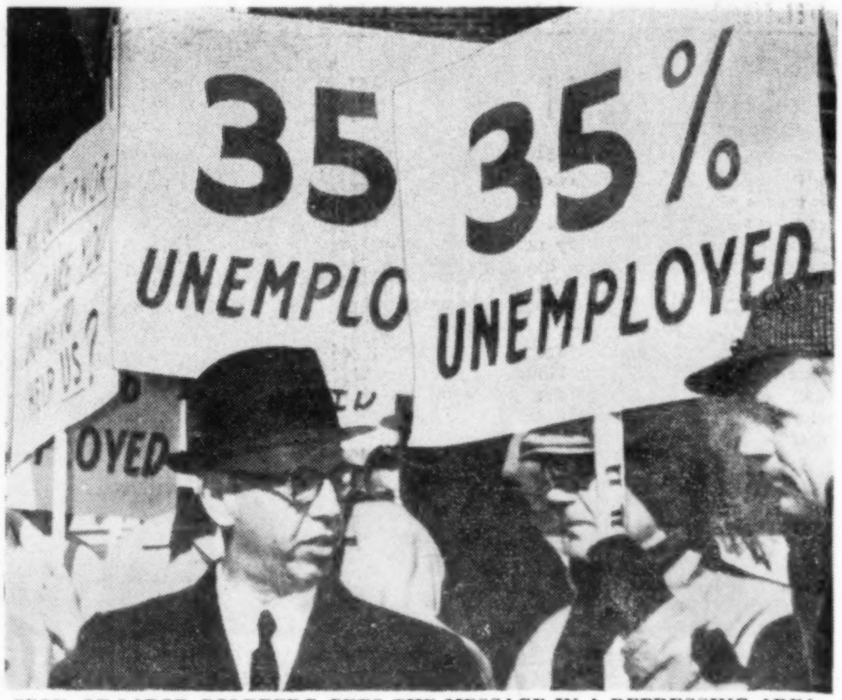
As a practical matter, this country cannot increase production for world markets very much. The prospects are that exports this year will be lower than last year. This means that the deficit will have to be corrected through a reduction in consumption.

Kennedy proposes to reduce consumption by sitting on wage increases. His Administration is planning a number of steps to bring this about. One of these steps, the establishment of an Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy, was recently discussed by Russ Nixon in the GUARDIAN (April 3). The Council of Economic Advisers stated that the purpose of this group was "to enlist the cooperation of labor and management in a voluntary program of price and wage restraint."

MEANY'S SPEECH: While the Administration is hoping that this group will keep labor in line, it is by no means certain that this will happen. Already some labor leaders, including some of the worst cold warriors, are grumbling.

A. H. Raskin, the New York **Times** labor reporter, wrote Feb. 16: "George Meany called for higher wages as the key to national prosperity and economic growth. His talk at a luncheon of the federation's Maritime Trades Department was an indirect reply to moves by some White House advisers to put the brakes on wage increases as a means of spurring recovery and combating competition . . .

"The union chief contended that the outflow of gold from this country had nothing to do with labor costs but was attributable to such factors as foreign economic aid and the maintenance of troops at overseas bases."



SECY. OF LABOR GOLDBERG GETS THE MESSAGE IN A DEPRESSING AREA
Unemployment in auto industry is a big factor in coming contract talks

Needless to say, Meany did not call for the ending of the cold war. His speech was significant in that it was the first time that he or any other of labor's leading cold warriors publicly linked the cold war with this drive against labor.

OTHER STEPS: The Administration is well aware that, regardless of what flips Meany may take in the future, he was expressing the sentiments of many in the labor movement. As the squeeze against labor becomes more apparent, this sentiment is bound to grow. The Administration, therefore, is thinking of taking other steps to keep wages down.

The **Wall Street Journal** on Feb. 13 reported that if these labor-management conferences fail, the Administration will "use the Taft-Hartley Act to force strikers back to work."

The most effective weapon against labor, however, is a high rate of unemployment. Its very existence is a powerful talking point against "excessive" demands. There is nothing like an army of unemployed to keep employed workers in line.

GAINS BEING LOST: "Rising unemployment," reported the **Wall Street Journal** on March 9, "is bringing sharp changes in the productivity and attitudes of workers still on the job. Many personnel executives and factory managers say that rarely in the past decade have they witnessed the degree of cooperation and willingness to put in a full day's work that their employes are displaying this year."

Instead of demanding wage increases, better working conditions, and less speedup, workers today are accepting stable wages (and, in some instances, wage decreases), poorer working conditions, and more speedup. Unemployment is thus effectively destroying the gains of the last 25 years.

Kennedy, by indicating that he will not try to reduce unemployment significantly this year and by announcing that a 4% unemployment rate is acceptable to him in future years, has clearly served notice on labor that it had better toe the mark.

This is how he is forcing labor to pay for the cold war and this is why the specter of unemployment will haunt America as long as the cold war lasts.

BIG THREE IN AUTO SET FOR TOUGH BARGAINING

UAW may again duck shorter week demand

By Carl Haessler
Special to the Guardian

DETROIT

THE GREAT guessing game here the past year has been what the United Auto Workers will demand of the corporations for the new contracts. Present Big Three and most other contracts expire in the autumn. Negotiations begin in July. The special convention to formulate demands opens here April 27 and is scheduled for a three-day run.

UAW president Walter Reuther lifted the curtain somewhat April 14 with a demand for yearly salaries to replace hourly wages for production workers. Other demands included improvements in supplemental unemployment and medical insurance benefits and wage formula improvements to assure "closing the gap between rapidly growing productive power and lagging purchasing power." Reuther also called for cooperation by management to get government action to solve the problems of workers which "should properly be dealt with by government rather than through collective bargaining."

Michigan is classified as a substantial unemployment area. In February the unemployed were 13.7% of the labor force in the state. In the three-county Detroit area the figure was 14.4%. The Michigan Employment Security Commission said the March figures will show little change from February.

The first guess at the UAW bargaining program by some was approval, after repeated deferments, of the shorter workweek program, usually bracketed with a ban on reduction in weekly take-home pay. But there has been no sign from Solidarity House, the handsome union headquarters on the Detroit River opposite Belle Isle, of such a move. When the 1957 regular convention made the shorter week the first demand for the 1958 negotiations the international executive board ditched it for a three-way share-the-profits program that got nowhere in the actual bargaining with General Motors, Ford and Chrysler.

POLITICS: This year the shorter week again seems to be out of union bounds. The reasons are political as well as economic. President Kennedy, with whom the UAW's president established close relations in the campaign and since election, is dead against it. Kennedy's economic advisers have convinced him that full employment goes hand-in-hand with full production and they may also have whispered to him that shortening the workweek is merely sharing the misery.

The union membership is not convinced. President Carl Stellato of Ford Local 600 in Dearborn has come out strong for "30 for 40." This means 40 hours' pay for 30 hours' work per week. Other locals are with him and the Natl. Committee for Democratic Action In UAW, organized by dissenting delegates at the 1959 UAW convention, has made it its principal slogan also.

Another reason the union leadership may fight shy of that demand is the continuing specter of more cars produced by fewer workers. The favorite bit of statistic on this point is that in 1960 the industry turned out 64% more cars and trucks than in 1947, but with 5.5% fewer workers. That the trend will continue is assured by further automation of production and also, though more recently, of whitecollar jobs. There is also growing corporation preference for scheduling overtime work for existing payrolls rather than adding more employes. One expert foresees 200,000 jobs gone for good in the auto industry in the U.S. "unless something is done." That is the number lost since 1953, counting jobs eliminated in parts plants and small feeder plants in steel and metal fabrication.

UNREST: Internal discontent broke into

(Continued on Page 7)

DELEGATES SEE PEACE AS NO. 1 ISSUE

Cold war intensifies domestic ills, ILWU convention says

By Robert E. Light

IT USED TO BE an axiom in labor that a blow to one union wounds all; and what is good for ordinary people abroad is good for ordinary people here. But most union leaders have drifted from basic labor tenets, Harry Bridges noted in his keynote address to the 14th biennial convention of the independent Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union from April 3 to 7 in Honolulu. Too many unions, he said, have forgotten what they are in business for. "The ILWU does not intend to operate this way."

Fortunately for its members and the nation, the union has always seemed to know what it is organized for. The convention menu went far beyond pork chops to national and world affairs. It included discussions on Cuba, Laos and China. The delegates took time to denounce the persecution of union leaders in Japan and Mexico and the imprisonment of Mexican artist Siqueiros.

As its main guest speaker, the union invited Nobel Laureate Dr. Linus Pauling. The convention endorsed the creation of a national peace agency. A "tarpaulin muster" (pass-the-hat collection) raised $1,400 to send a delegate to the Seventh World Conference Against A- and H-Bomb in Tokyo next August.

DR. LINUS PAULING AT THE ILWU CONVENTION IN HAWAII
"War is the great common enemy of both the United States and Russia"

ANTAGONISTIC GOVERNOR: The delegates were naturally concerned with domestic economic problems. But with the discussions of automation and unemployment came resolutions against the House Un-American Activities Committee and the bill to screen seamen; a call to repeal the Walter-McCarran immigration law; and a demand for civil rights for all.

Gov. William F. Quinn antagonized the convention the first day with his greeting: "I am the enemy of the communists among you." Pauling brought the house down two days later when he opened with: "I'm not the enemy of a single one of you. I am your friend and brother."

Continuing the theme, he said: "The U.S.S.R. is no longer our enemy. The United States is not the enemy of the U.S.S.R. It is war that is the great enemy, the great common enemy of both the United States and Russia, and the time has come to work together."

FAITH IN FUTURE: He recounted the horrors of nuclear weapons and he underscored the need for complete disarmament. He said agreement could be reached with the traditional bargaining technique of each side giving a little.

He warned that some corporations don't want disarmament because of large profits in munitions. He was also critical of some union leaders for not speaking out for peace.

"What's wrong with the AFL-CIO?" he asked. "Is it fear of unemployment, depression?" Pauling answered himself: "What good is a job to a corpse?"

He concluded: "After we have got rid of military secrecy, after we have made the world a safe place for all the nations in the world, the U.S.S.R., the United States and other nations, too—China of course has to be brought into the community of nations—as this takes place, it will be possible to work effectively for human rights, for civil liberties, for freedom of human beings in every country in the world. I believe we can all work together for peace and freedom and that we shall succeed."

COOPERATION WITH TEAMSTERS: Teamster official Lawrence Steinberg spoke in place of union president James R. Hoffa, who was detained at contract negotiations. Steinberg said that despite its expulsion from the AFL-CIO, the Teamsters would never give up its responsibilities for making progress for its members. He called the AFL-CIO executive council "whisky-drinking, poker-playing labor leaders."

He said that the newly-formed President's Labor-Management Advisory Committee, which excluded Teamster representation although it is the country's largest union, "will soon start functioning to prevent workers from going ahead and making progress."

The convention adopted a statement of policy which called for "solid working relations" with the Teamsters "by joint approaches to organizing, by avoidance or settlement of jurisdictional disputes, by a coordinated policy on collective bargaining."

FOR SHORTER WEEK: The convention called for "trade union unity" on a rank-and-file level. Bridges pointed out that whatever criticisms the union had of some AFL-CIO leaders, it was for discussion within labor. "When the chips are down between labor and the employers," he said, "we'll be in there pitching."

On the economy the convention noted patterns of chronic unemployment. It held with Samuel Gompers that "as long as one person who needs work is out of work, it is one too many." The delegates also warned of the impact of automation on unemployment. They adopted a resolution calling on all unions "to unite in a program for a shorter workday or workweek, without overtime and without moonlighting."

The convention noted that some in labor support the Kennedy Administration while others are skeptical and suspicious. For the ILWU, a resolution said, "it is too soon to make any firm conclusion about where this Administration is going." But, the resolution added, "without the pressure and the demands of a hard-hitting labor movement on the left of the Administration, there will be no major breakthrough on behalf of the American people.

"In the early days of the New Deal, Franklin Delano Roosevelt not only had this kind of trade union pressure, but he did his best to stimulate it. So long as labor remains in some politician's back pocket, we can expect no serious attention to the needs and problems of working people."

REPORTS FROM ABROAD: The convention spent most of one afternoon session discussing reports of eight rank-and-file delegations which visited 23 countries in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America last year. The trips were authorized by the last convention in 1959 and they were financed by two 50c assessments approved by referendum.

The visiting delegates talked to dock workers, ordinary people and union officials. They were under no instructions except to "get the facts."

The convention voted unanimously to continue the program for another two years. A resolution said: "Understanding between the working peoples of all countries can be one of the most effective guarantees of world peace. It can also be an effective means, particularly in the maritime industry, of joint action by the unions of different countries to protect each other's interests and welfare."

END THE COLD WAR: An officer's report to the convention signed by Bridges, vice president J. R. Robertson and secy.-treasurer Louis Goldblatt said: "The promise and necessity to do something constructive about unemployment, the recession, or civil rights, will never become a reality so long as the cold war, with all-out support of national labor, dominates our nation's life . . . Ours is the wealthiest nation on earth, yet we will never be able to 'afford' full democratic freedoms, an independent and militant trade union movement or an ever-rising standard of living so long as the touchstone for every policy is whether or not it improves our capacity to kill and be killed in turn . . .

"The decade ahead will be a test and a challenge to all Americans. We can meet the needs of the times with optimism and not with the despair of so many in our nation if we continue to be guided by the trade union principles which more often that not confounded our enemies and stood the ILWU in such good stead in the past."

UAW contracts

(Continued from Page 6)

the open earlier this year when Chrysler Local 869 members found themselves threatened with unemployment under an area-wide job pool that permitted members of Dodge Local 3 with greater seniority to move with their jobs from an old plant to the new one. Some signed decertification cards preparing for a petition for an NLRB election with the aim of then finding another union to represent them. One James Riddle Hoffa was said to be lurking in the shadows. So far the NLRB Detroit office has not received any petition. A couple of UAW locals have agreed to wage cuts while the international union abstained from approving them.

In an attempt to dispel a rumor that the union would follow some other international unions and abandon the escalator cost-of-living clause in return for other concessions, Reuther at the UAW skilled trades conference in Chicago last winter stated without qualification that this would not be done. Neither, he said, would the annual improvement factor—the arrangement by which the union does not hinder automation and other labor-saving programs in the industry in return for a 6-cents-an-hour annual raise or 2½% whichever is greater—be surrendered. Vice president Leonard Woodcock told the General Motors conference of the union in Detroit last month that the UAW will demand earlier retirement rights on pension and more liberal pension payments. GM, he says, has ample pension funds to do so.

THE HAZARDS: Severance pay has already appeared in UAW contracts to meet loss of jobs through decentralization. Displaced UAW members under such terms can apply for a specified sum or they can move with the job but not, as a rule, carry their seniority with them. They can, however, have first shot at jobs in the new plant. This may be expanded to cover any permanent loss of jobs, whether by moving the plant or automating it or by use of new techniques such as electrical discharge diemaking machines and similar novel methods which particularly hit the tool and diemakers.

Reuther thus faces three hazards in putting together a program. He may distinctly wish to avoid embarrassing Kennedy. He cannot risk undue internal discontent, and he cannot buck the technological trend that steadily stretches the car-to-man ratio in favor of the cars, as well as the personnel decision of the corporations to hold the work force down to size by scheduling overtime instead of taking on more men and women for the rush periods.

The corporations are making their positions known in advance in various ways. Henry Ford II is telling employes to hold the line on labor costs. President John F. Gordon of GM told stockholders Feb. 13 that "your management's objective will be to reach agreements through free collective bargaining that recognize the equities of all concerned." Since there is stockholder grumbling at GM's continuance of the skimpy $2 per share dividend per year one might infer that the equities of the owners at any rate will be protected. Chrysler is the cripple of the Big Three and will not be expected to go beyond what its two big brothers shell out.

SALES DOWN: Union and company negotiators will meet in July to begin what will probably be long arguments. They are likely to end somewhere between the zero mark of extending present contracts on the corporation side and the union's hopeful aims.

The public also is in the picture. So far in 1961 the public has been buying far fewer cars than it did in the same months of 1960. Figures gathered by **Automotive News**, authoritative trade weekly, show 1,190,754 cars produced by all six American makers the first three months of this year. The corresponding figure last year was 2,003,988. GM produced 54.52% in this year's first quarter output, Ford 27.92%, Chrysler 10.18%, American Motors 6.16%, Studebaker-Packard 1.11%, and Checker 0.11%. Corresponding 1960 first quarter percents were 48.76, 26.9, 15.9, 6.62, 0.09, and 0.09%. GM was the substantial gainer and Chrysler the substantial loser.

In this setting Reuther will have to marshal every talent and resource to stem the adverse tide.

London Daily Worker
"You must realize, Mr. Gummidge, you can't work them like human beings."

A FOREORDAINED VERDICT

The Molina case

By Joanne Grant

ON SEPT. 21, 1960, during the visit of Premier Fidel Castro of Cuba and other world leaders to the UN, a fight broke out in El Prado restaurant in New York between five anti-Castro Cubans and some Castro supporters. A nine-year-old Venezuelan girl, Magdalena Urdaneta, was shot by a bullet which had passed through the shoulder of Luis Rodriguez, one of the participants in the brawl. The next day the child died.

On Oct. 14, after a nation-wide "man-hunt" well-publicized by the FBI, Francisco Molina, 27-year-old Castro supporter who had taken part in the restaurant fight, was arrested. He was indicted on one count of first degree murder, two counts of first degree assault and two of first degree attempted murder. The month-long trial before an all-white, all-male jury resulted in a verdict of guilty on three counts: second degree murder of Magdalena Urdaneta, assault with intent to kill Luis Rodriguez, and second degree assault on another participant in the fight, Humberto Triana.

DICE LOADED: A guilty verdict was foreordained in the prevailing atmosphere of anti-Castro hysteria. Neutrality in such a case could not be expected from jury, police, press or court.

From the start defense counsel Samuel A. Neuburger maintained that everything was stacked against the defendant. Molina was deprived of counsel for 11 days after his arrest because Neuburger was not allowed to visit him with an interpreter of his choice. A six-months postponement because of current anti-Castro feeling was denied. A motion to strike the entire special "blue ribbon" panel of 250 because the prosecution challenged all Negro, Latin American and women members was also denied.

Early attempts to establish that the Castro supporters were the aggressors were disproved when the defense showed that one of the anti-Castro men had struck the first blow, that Castro supporters had been knifed, and that Molina himself had been wounded.

UNANSWERED QUESTIONS: The conduct of the trial leaves the following questions:

- What Federal agency asked the district attorney to request that questions about anti-Castro activities in Miami be kept out of the trial?
- Why were none of the anti-Castro participants in the fight arrested?
- Why was no one else tried with Molina?
- Is it possible that Molina was charged with murder because he is easily identifiable by an artificial hand or mechanical grasping device which he sometimes wears? (The press early dubbed him "The Hook.")
- If there was intent to murder why was one bullet found in the ceiling in the front room of the restaurant when the shooting took place in the rear room?
- If there was intent why was there no shooting in the washroom where Molina and Rodriguez spent some minutes alone?

There are questions to be asked about the police investigation of the incident:

- Why were only two bullets found when all witnesses who heard shots heard from three to five?
- Why was a piece of blood-stained linoleum from Molina's apartment left on a detective's desk for a month? Later, why did the prosecutor fight to keep it from being introduced in evidence?
- Where is the gun?
- What happened to the three-foot chain which prosecution witnesses admitted under cross-examination had been taken to the restaurant by the anti-Castro men, used by them in the fight and then given to a policeman?

SOME SNAGS: In his three-hour summation Neuburger punched holes in the district attorney's case against Molina.

Discussing the testimony of each of the prosecution's witnesses, Neuburger pointed out that each remembered only a part of the events surrounding the shooting and that the ability of each to recall the events conveniently ended at the point at which he had contributed one more piece to the prosecution's pattern. But despite the careful planning the prosecution's case ran into some snags.

Prosecution witnesses said that five members of the Cuban Revolutionary Democratic Front, an anti-Castro organization training men for an invasion of Cuba, walked into a Cuban restaurant near 51st Street to buy sandwiches for anti-Castro pickets at the Hotel Theresa on 125th Street. One of the men had a three-foot chain. Three of them were wearing anti-Castro buttons. They said that Molina cursed them, his friends hit them and then Molina shot at them.

CROSS-EXAMINATION: Neuburger went through the witnesses one by one. Rosita Morales, he pointed out, testified that she saw Molina leave and return with two friends. The prosecutor made much of her testimony that Molina told her "vete, vete, de aqui" (leave, get out of here). The prosecutor said that the same warning by another witness had no significance. Miss Morales testified under cross-examination that the district attorney had told her "Don't worry" in reference to a narcotics conviction for which she was to be sentenced after testifying in the Molina trial. No other witness saw Molina leave the restaurant before the fight began; most said they saw him there all afternoon.

The next witness, Pedro Treto, said he had heard Molina curse and had heard other people talk but couldn't identify them. Miss Morales had not heard any talk. Neuburger said Miss Morales' testimony that Molina had deliberately left the restaurant for reinforcements and had warned her to leave was intended to show that Molina knew there would be a fight. Treto, Neuburger said, meant to establish a prejudice in the minds of the jury by testifying that Molina was the kind of man who used "dirty words."

DIFFERENT STORIES: The next witness, Evelio Corcho, said that he saw Molina with his arm straight in the air. This was to indicate that Molina could have fired into the ceiling. He heard angry, loud talk and heard bottles and sugar bowls flying around the room, but didn't know who had thrown them. Under cross-examination he admitted that he had given several different stories.

Nelson Alvarez, who said under direct examination that he didn't see any weapon at all, admitted under cross-examination that he had seen a chain in one of the anti-Castro men's hands. He also admitted that he had been warned by an assistant district attorney that he might be deported if he didn't fix his story up.

Carlos Duquesne testified that when he was leaving the restaurant he saw Molina take a gun out, but his friend, Jesus Artigas, said that as he heard the first shot in the restaurant's front room he was pulling someone off Duquesne's back in the back room. Duquesne was allowed to refuse to answer when asked about his activities in Miami.

Humberto Triana testified that Molina had cursed the anti-Castro men as ones who had sold out to Yankee imperialism. He said he answered that this was a free country and he had not come to the restaurant to make trouble. Triana made a slip: he testified that he heard shots from the rear of the restaurant; others had said the shots came from the front.

INSUFFICIENT EVIDENCE: Neuburger earlier had moved for dismissal of the indictment on the grounds that there was insufficient evidence for conviction. One count—attempted murder of Triana—was dismissed and another—first degree assault on Triana—was reduced to second degree. In his summation Neuburger said that dismissal of the attempted murder charge meant that it was no longer possible to prove intent to kill. He also pointed out that the prevailing political atmosphere might prevent justice being done.

"You cannot have equal justice except for a pro-Castro defendant, you cannot have equal and exact justice except for somebody from a different state, you cannot have equal and exact justice except for a man who does not agree with you politically, you cannot have equal and exact justice except for anything. It is either equal and exact, or it isn't, and this is neither equal nor exact," he said.

BADGE OF TRUTH: In his summation the prosecutor, assistant district attorney Alexander Herman, maintained that discrepancies in testimony could be expected and that a conflict in testimony gives a man "a badge of truthfulness." Herman said that Triana's remarks provoked Molina because he compared "the United States as a free country with Cuba which is not so free and not so democratic." Herman said that the presence of anti-Castro men wearing anti-Castro buttons provoked Molina and that he had enough time to premeditate murder.

In his charge to the jury Judge Mitchell Schweitzer noted that the jurors had promised not to take politics or their attitude toward Cuba or the defendant's political beliefs into consideration.

The jury's verdict of second degree murder meant that Molina had a "design to effect the death of the one killed or of another without premeditation or deliberation." He will be sentenced on May 26 after which an appeal will be filed. The Committee for Defense of Francisco Molina, which has received more than 300 cables of support from organizations and individuals in Cuba, plans a defense rally for mid-May. The Committee address is 154 Nassau Street, Room 832, WO 2-2264.

MEANWHILE, BACK AT THE LAUNCHING PAD, WHAT MORE CAN ONE SAY?
Except this: When the Soviet Union gets through welcoming Major Yuri Gagarin, the first man in space (shown above with Premier Khrushchev in Moscow) how about a ticker tape parade for him up Broadway?

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BOOKS

Civil War tales

IN THE THREE decades immediately following the Civil War (1865-1895), America was flooded with a vast outpouring of books about our greatest conflict. The shattering experience of the bloody struggle and the basic political principles involved in the war left an indelible mark on the face of the land. Hardly a home in the country remained untouched by the giant holocaust which took the lives of more than 600,000 Americans—a total greater than the casualties suffered by American troops in all our other wars combined.

Personal reminiscences, regimental histories, anthologies of anecdotes and poetry, military analyses of individual campaigns and battles, political evaluations, biographies, novels, poured from the nation's printing presses.

It is from these sources, in the main, that B. A. Botkin has drawn the stories, anecdotes and sketches which comprise **A Civil War Treasury of Tales, Legends and Folklore.***

MR. BOTKIN is an experienced editor with a keen eye for a good story and this volume has its share of memorable narratives. If the collection is not as uniformly good in this respect as previous Botkin anthologies, one must ascribe it to the limitations of the material. Some of the good stories, such as Lincoln's trip to Washington before the Inaugural and the naming of "Stonewall Jackson," have been told before—but the editor has decided, wisely I believe, to include them anyway. Others are not nearly as well known and any Civil War buff will appreciate having all of them together in one volume.

Botkin has done particularly well with stories concerning the Negro and the Civil War. The post-bellum literature is notoriously chauvinistic in both form and content, generally treating the Negro as a shiftless fool or a cowardly clown, and wallowing in stereotypes of both characterization and dialogue. Little of this material appears in Botkin's collection. In fact, quite the contrary; he has come up with a number of interesting anecdotes and incidents which help to right some of the previous wrongs in this area.

A BRADY PHOTOGRAPH OF UNION SOLDIERS ON THE BATTLEFIELD AT PETERSBURG IN 1864
Botkin's new collection abounds in stories of daring escapades and thrill-packed action

HERE is the story of how Major General Benjamin F. Butler first declared slaves to be "contrabands of war," the very first act of confiscation in the conflict with profound revolutionary overtones. Forceful, fascinating, all-too-unsung Negroes live in these pages: the anonymous Negro who "innocently" arranged the inaugural procession for Jefferson Davis in the manner of a funeral march; a nameless South Carolina slave advertising a reward for his runaway master: "I will gib four hundred dollars for him if alive, an' five hundred if somebody will show him dead," and dozens of others which the reader will have to find for himself.

Here too are snatches of soldier folklore, both Yankee and Confederate—anonymous poems, letters back home, extracts from diaries, anecdotes of jokesters and their jokes.

THE adventure-lover will find delight in exciting stories of daring escapades and thrill-packed action, tales of crack shots and women donning soldier's guise; stories of Lincoln and Grant and Lee and Stonewall Jackson; stories of life in camp and death on the battlefield.

And yet the whole does not ring true. The stories, by and large, come from a postwar "gilded age" literature which wallowed in romanticism and sentimentality. It was a literature better known for its ostentatious "high-falutin'" prose style than for its allegiance to accuracy. The documentation of the material (presented in a form unduly cumbersome for scholarly purposes) is revealing. Item after item bears datemarks of the 1870's, 1880's and 1890's.

Not surprisingly, the relatively few items which can be dated back to the Civil War period itself provide the greatest insight into the era—and the most rewarding literary experiences as well. The piognant, startling letter of Sara Pryor detailing the circumstances of the Richmond Bread Riot is one of the most moving pieces of Civil War prose I have read. This letter could have been written only in the urgency of the hour.

THE MOST serious fault of the post-bellum literature has been the way in which it has tended to legitimatize the cause of treason. The "gallant" Southern gentlemen-officers so heroically portrayed in much of this literature were responsible, after all, for a gigantic subversive plot which almost succeeded in overthrowing this republic by force and violence.

This is a fact conveniently overlooked by most contemporary historians. Today, the lily-white National Civil War Centennial Commission, which is planning a massive schedule of commemorative events, is obligingly reinforcing the concept of a "war between brothers"—implicitly, and in many cases explicitly, legalizing the Confederate standard.

In part, Mr. Botkin's book helps to maintain this fiction. By presenting the stories, legends and tales out of context and with no critical appraisal of their accuracy or significance, Botkin has served up a "story book" which, while it contains much that is worthwhile, will also reinforce those who have politically bowdlerized the Civil War.

—**Irwin Silber**

**A CIVIL WAR TREASURY of Tales, Legends and Folklore; edited with an introduction by B. A. Botkin, illustrated by Warren Chappell. Random House. 625 pp. $7.95.*

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Belfrage in Cuba

(Continued from Page 1)

Rosenberg case, most Cubans have not. From each new crime lessons are drawn, and a Rosenberg exhibition is touring the island to remind the people of the nature of imperialist justice. Meanwhile passionate poems about the martyred Lumumba continue to appear, along with reports of Puerto Rican "peonage" and the use of dogs against Negroes demonstrating for observance of the law in Mississippi.

FULL EDUCATION: Cuba's masses are rallying around their leaders as never before. Terrorists set afire two more sugar centrals, explode bombs at a Havana reservoir, a magazine office, another department store, the nationalized Pepsi-Cola plant; volunteer repair and cane-cutting crews swarm in, vigilance is redoubled, and the revolution marches on singing and assured.

Inept, mulish leadership plagues this enterprise or that; the masses take it in stride with proper impatience, knowing revolutions are not made by angels but by men—and sow the land with schools to destroy mulishness at the roots. For Cuba is either theirs to mold as they wish it, by trial and error and self-discipline, or it will be nothing but a graveyard.

Above all Cuba is getting education in the class struggle, losing its last illusions as to who will be where in the show-down. The current Latin American lecture tour by U. S. writer Carleton Beals, denouncing Washington's "permanent aggression" against Cuba and proclaiming every country's right to deal with whomever it pleases, is attracting broad interest. Havana papers headlined Beals' talk at Bogota state university, where hundreds of students milled around him shouting "Viva Cuba!", "Viva el pueblo de los Estados Unidos!"

THE REPLIES: In President Dorticos' reply to the White Paper, as in Ernesto Guevara's talk to assembled sugar central delegates, the keynote was the direct appeal to peasants and workers. The White Paper, said Dorticos, was "bare-faced cynicism" plainly heralding new and intensified aggressions to overthrow the workers' capture of power.

Fidel Castro chose a building workers' union meeting to re-emphasize that, in Cuba, the right of non-producers to be "kept" out of the wealth the workers produce has gone forever. The counter-revolution's basic aim, he said, was to re-install the parasite system; the revolution's, to destroy parasitism and give all an equal chance of developing their productive capacities.

With some three weeks to go, workers jammed every inch of the great Labor Federation theater here for a May Day preparatory meeting, and greeted Castro with a decibel count beyond any device's power to measure. Thousands unable to enter gathered outside around loud-speakers. Castro stood for 15 minutes vainly trying to begin his speech.

"Will the counterrevolutionaries come" to try to put back the clock? Hazarding no guess as to when they would sufficiently patch up their internal squabbles, Castro said he expected them "sooner or later to be put in a boat and sent here by the CIA, though without much enthusiasm." The assembled worker's enthusiasm to greet them appropriately was evident when Castro listed the things of which Cuba—though called on for some sacrifices—would never run short: "Food, medicines, clothing, shoes, education, recreation, and bullets for counterrevolutionaries."

FORTRESS OF HOPE: Dubbing the CIA "the Central Agency of Yanqui Cretins," Castro made a further attempt to explain to them the essential difference between landings by revolutionaries "almost without arms but with the people," on the one hand; and on the other, landings by counterrevolutionaries "with arms, bases, access to the Pentagon and the Cardinals' palaces but without the people." Cuba today, he said, "is the fortress of the dignity of America and of the hope of America, the invincible bastion of justice."

HELP FREE SIQUEIROS

Help Free Mexico's Heroic Railroad Workers

A grave situation exists in Mexico calling for action by all who love freedom.

At stake is the life of David Alfaro Siqueiros, Mexico's great muralist.

At stake is the fate of the 18 railroad union leaders (who led one of the most heroic struggles in Mexican labor history) and 13 other political prisoners.

THE railroad workers and most of the others have languished in jail for over two years! Siqueiros for over eight months.

"Siqueiros at 64 may not survive his imprisonment if it is true, as reported, that the President of Mexico has vowed never to release him," reports Harvey O'Connor in a brilliant expose, **"McCarthyism in Mexico" (Monthly Review, April, 1961).**

PLIGHT OF PRISONERS' FAMILIES

Many prisoners' families—some with nine children—find it difficult to get enough food. **"Two wives have died, partly for lack of medical attention,"** a letter from Mexico reads.

WHY THE JAILINGS?

Behind the jailings is the Mexican government's drive to suppress democratic trade unionism.

In 1958 the railroad workers threw out government-imposed union officials, elected their own leaders, and won many improvements. Workers in other industries tried to follow their example.

In March, 1959, under a "red hysteria" smokescreen, the government brutally crushed a railroad strike, imprisoned Demetrio Vallejo and other leaders and a number of known Communists. Most of those imprisoned were arrested at that time—over two years ago!

Siqueiros, as chairman of a committee to free the prisoners, incurred official wrath for criticizing President Adolfo Lopez Mateos in speeches in Cuba and Venezuela. On August 9, 1960, he was imprisoned in Lecumberri jail in Mexico City.

THE UNDEMOCRATIC SOCIAL DISSOLUTION LAW

Violation of the Social Dissolution Law is the main charge against all those jailed. (With Siqueiros, they number 27 in Lecumberri jail, and five in other prisons.) Punishment under the law is 2 to 12 years, plus heavy fines. No bail is permitted!

The Law is a catch-all anti-democratic monstrosity. A former Mexican federal attorney general denounced it as vague and violative of all the political freedoms. Punishment can be meted out for just speaking and writing.

". . . . Mr. Lopez Mateos' government has jailed many . . . on a charge of 'social dissolution' which can cover a multitude of sins," reported the New York **Herald Tribune,** March 15, 1961.

JUSTICE BROUGHT TO A HALT

The government was finally forced to bring those in Lecumberri to trial before a judge. After presenting its case against 25 it was supposed to sum up. But since February justice has been brought to a halt because the government refused to sum up!

The prisoners may rot in jail.

This may happen to the other two, Siqueiros and 73-year-old editor Filomeno Mata, being tried separately.

We urge all to protest this injustice.

U.S. Friends of Mexico

The 27 men in Lecumberri prison are:

Alejandro Perez, Andres Alfaro, Antonio Sanchez, Alberto Lumbreras N., Demetrio Vallejo Martinez, Dionicio Encina R., David Alfaro Siqueiros, Enrique Hernandez Camarena, Enrique Caballero Zarate, Eladio Aleman Molina, Filomena Mata, Francisco Carballo S., Encarnacion Perez Gaitan, Gilberto Rojo Robles, Hugo Ponce de Leon, J. Guadalupe Lopez V., Jose Luis Vasquez G., Jesus Eugenio Araujo A., Julian Cardona E., Maximo Correa C., Manuel Jimenez R., Pedro Espinoza Valdes, Prospero Reyes N., Valentin Campa S., Miguel Arocho Parra, Roberto Gomez C., Rosendo Sanchez B.

Money is needed to continue the campaign for Mexico's political prisoners. Send your contribution to:

Betty Millard,, Treasurer
U.S. Friends of Mexico
Box 73, Village Station
150 Christopher St.,
New York 14, N.Y.

Protest TODAY

Write TODAY to:

Ambassador Antonio Carrillo Flores
Mexican Embassy, Washington, D. C.

Notice to Advertisers

Effective May 1, the rate for classified ads in the GUARDIAN will be 50c a line. This increase will not affect advertisers scheduling twelve or more insertions or purchasing 60 lines or more per year. Present rates for GUARDIAN classified advertising have been in effect for ten years, during which time all costs have risen more than 25%.

CALENDAR

BAY AREA

SAVE THE DATE—JUNE 16-18
A Weekend in the Redwoods!
Exciting camp-out for all ages. If you'd like to help with the preparations, call **Margaret Driggs, SK 2-5988.**

LOS ANGELES

HEAR AN AMERICAN AUTHOR and trade union official, recently returned from Cuba—Sidney Lens—speak on
"Cuba: Democracy or Dictatorship?"
Park Manor, 607 S. Western Ave.
Fri., May 5, 8.15 p.m. Donation $1; Students & Unemployed 50c.
Auspices: Fair Play for Cuba Comm. P. O. Box 26251, L. A. 26.

MAY DAY—1961
"THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE, FREEDOM, SOCIALISM." SPEAKER: Theodore Edwards, Socialist Radio Commentator.
SAT., APRIL 29, 8:15 p.m.
Forum Hall, 1702 E. 4 St. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party & Young Soc. Alliance. Don. $1. — Students & Unem. 25c.

CHICAGO

MAUD RUSSELL CHICAGO AREA SPEAKING DATES—May 27 to June 12. Make arrangements with Dorothy Hayes, 1376 E. 53rd St. Phone PLaza 2-2949, evenings.

SATURDAY, APRIL 29th
Come to **39th Anniversary Concert** of the progressive Jewish Daily Newspaper —the **MORNING FREIHEIT**—on **SAT., APRIL 29 at 8:15 p.m. at De Paul University Theatre, 25 E. Jackson Blvd.** Guest speaker: S. Almaziv, N.Y. writer & lecturer. Musical Program: Jewish Peoples Choral Society, directed by Peter Sher; Guest tenor: Cantor Wilhelm Silber, Lakeview Temple, concert, radio & television artist; Songs by Chorus & Cantor in Yiddish, Eng., Hebrew. Tickets: $1.25. Call or write: Morning Freiheit, 3301 W. Lawrence Ave. **IN 3-3983**

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SAT., APRIL 29 8 P.M.
Hispanos-Unidos Center, 3564 W. Vernor H'way (1 block E. of W. Grand Blvd.)
Tickets: $1.50 Students 75c
Ausp: Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

TOM KERRY, labor editor, Militant, on national tour:
"JOBS FOR ALL; A PROGRAM FOR AMERICAN LABOR," **FRI., APRIL 28, 8 p.m. Debs Hall 3737 Woodward.**
Ausp: Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

RALLY TO ABOLISH
The House Un-American Activities Committee
FRIDAY, APRIL 21, at 8 P.M.
St. Nicholas Arena, 69 W. 66th St.
Speakers: CARL BRADEN, PETE SEEGER,, FRANK WILKINSON, facing 1-year imprisonment for challenging HUAC. Also: Leonard Holt, Integration atty., Norfolk, Va., Hon. Stanley M. Isaacs,, NYC Councilman, Hon. Mark Lane, N.Y. State Assemblyman, Dr. Willard Uphaus, David Wesley, Editor, York, Pa. — Cont. $1. Ausp: N.Y. Council to Abolish HUAC.

VACATION IN MEXICO
SAT., APRIL 22—9:30 P.M.
Color film, music, travel tips
CUBA—1960
SUN., April 23—8:30 p.m.
Color film, music,, refreshments.
ADM. $1. International Festival Cafe
84 E. 10 St. GR 5-9245 DA 8-6154

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Apt. 3-A OR 7-8926 Don. 99c.
Ausp: Fair Play For Cuba Comm.

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● Morris U. Schappes, Historian, Editor
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NO MILITANT LABOR FORUM FRIDAY, April 21. Urge support for **Rally to Abolish HUAC at St. Nicholas Arena that night.** Keep Sat., April 29, open for May Day celebration at 116 University Place.

A film story of revolutionary Cuba: "Cuba Today," social evening to follow.
SAT., APRIL 22, 8:30 P.M.
228 Ashland Pl., Bklyn. (IRT, Nevins St., BMT, DeKalb Ave., 'A' train Lafayette) Ausp: Labor Educational League. Cont. $1.

POLITICAL CRISIS IN ISRAEL
Hear MORRIS U. SCHAPPES,
Editor, Jewish Currents,
discuss this important issue
SUNDAY, APRIL 23 at 7:30 P.M.
at 1110 Eastern Parkway Brooklyn
Ausp: Crown Heights Forum. Cont: 50c

Come to a party for Camp Midvale & have a good time. Dancing - Entertainment - Betty Sanders.
Sat., April 29, — 9 p.m.
Polonia Club, 201 Second Ave.
(bet. 12 & 13 Sts.) Adm. $1.50 with food

Hear GUS HALL on
"THE FIRST 100 DAYS of the Kennedy Administration"
Sun., APRIL 30—8 p.m. sharp
Brighton Community Center
3200 Coney Island Ave., Brooklyn

CELEBRATE THE ADVENT OF THE SOVIET COSMONAUT!
DEFEND THE CUBAN REVOLUTION
REJOICE with the POC in CELEBRATING THE ADVANCES of the WORKING CLASS!
SUN., APRIL 30, — 2 P.M.
Hotel Lucerne,, 79th St., near Amsterdam Ave. AUSP: N.Y. Provisional Organizing Committee.

WED., THURS., FRI., APR. 26, 27, 28
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PHILADELPHIA

J A M E S A R O N S O N
Editor, The GUARDIAN
SAT. EVE., APRIL 29 8:30 P.M.
"The American Press and The New Frontier"
At the Blooms, 1002 66th Avenue

MAY DAY CELEBRATION—1961
SUN., APRIL 30—2:30 P.M.
John Bartram Hotel, Crystal Room, Broad & Locust Sts. (Entrance Locust St.) Speaker: Oakley C. Johnson, author of "The Day is Coming."
Entertainment — Adm. $1
Ausp: Phila. May Day Committee.

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THE GALLERY

PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S TASK FORCE to eliminate goofs in government might start with the Immigration Service. On April 4 immigration agents hustled alleged racketeer Carlos Marcello out of New Orleans and deported him to Guatemala. Aside from the Immigration Service's high-handed methods with aliens, the Internal Revenue Service would like Marcello brought back. Chester Utry, district director of internal revenue, said Marcello left owing $835,-000 in back taxes. He was irked because Marcello left without permission of the revenue service . . . Former strip-teaser Gypsy Rose Lee blamed the decline of burlesque on slum clearance. She said that most burlesque theaters used to be in rundown neighborhoods, but now cities "just don't have the proper slums any more." . . . Last year British theater critic Kenneth Tynan was called before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee because they objected to his political views. Last month when Tynan was scheduled to come back here for a visit, he wrote to friends: "Am arriving in the U.S. in April, Dodd willing." . . . Tory M.P. Col. Sir Tufton Beamish said: "Mr. Kennedy is now firmly in the Presidential saddle and the imprint of his strong personality is there for all to see." . . . A group of young West German pacifists has gone to London to restore the damaged vestries in the ruins of Coventry Cathedral, bombed by Hitler's Luftwaffe.

SUFFOLK COUNTY POLICE in New York moved into new headquarters April 5, almost a year behind schedule. The new building was to have been completed June 1, 1960, but it was delayed because, among other things, designs were changed often. First-day visitors were most attracted to a stairway that leads to a blank wall. Original plans called for a bomb shelter, but when they were changed someone forgot to take out the stairway too . . . **Casket and Sunnyside,** trade paper of the funeral industry, devoted its entire March issue to the advantages of transporting corpses by air. That issue carried nine ads from airlines, the first time they had advertised in the journal . . . Funeral directors have recently countered the reluctance of live humans to visit their premises by donating 50 cents to a charity organization for every member who attends the showing of a film about undertaking. But T. M. Quinn & Sons in Long Island City got 1,000 people into their parlors on three nights without giving a penny to charity. They showed a special religious film, **The Crucifixion** . . . The bomb shelters for key government personnel Canadian Prime Minister Diefenbaker plans to construct are known colloquially as "Diefenbunkers." . . . A British War Office official said: "We doubt whether Army haircutting can have more than a marginal effect on recruiting." . . . In thanking members of a commission that went to Bolivia on his behalf, President Kennedy said: "I realize that a mission to Bolivia isn't the same as a mission to Paris."

—Robert E. Light

Wall Street Journal

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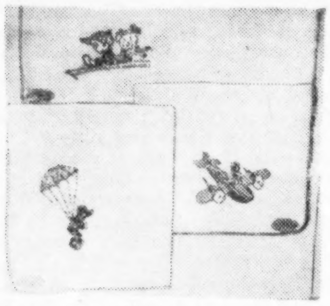

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MF 316—EAST OF THE URALS—Folk music of Siberia and Central Asia.

MF 318—RUSSIAN SONGS AND DANCES BY THE PIATNITSKY CHORUS AND ORCHESTRA OF FOLK INSTRUMENTS, conducted by Vassily Khvatov.

MF 320—BYELORUSSIAN FOLK SONGS AND DANCES performed by soloists and the Byelorussian Folk Chorus.

M 321—ARMENIAN FOLK DANCES.

MF 331 — GEORGIAN STATE FOLK BALLET—Music of Georgia and the Caucasus.

MP 520—SOVIET ARMY CHORUS AND BAND in a Program of Favorites.

MP 540—SOVIET ARMY CHORUS AND ORCHESTRA IN A NEW PROGRAM OF FAVORITES.

MP 541—THE SOVIET ARMY CHORUS AND BAND: Songs of the Steppe.

MC 2002 **BACH Piano Concerto No. 1 in D Minor** Richter, piano; State Orch. of the U.S.S.R., Sanderling, cond; **PROKOFIEFF Violin Concerto No. 2 in G Minor. Op. 63** Kogan, violin; State Orch. of the USSR. Kondrashin, cond.

MC 2003 **DAVID OISTRAKH RECITAL.** SZYMANOWSKI The Fountain of Arethusa; DE FALLA Spanish Dance; SCRIABIN Nocturne; PROKOFIEFF Love of Three Oranges: March; ALBENIZ Song of Love; WAGNER Album Leaf; SAINT-SAENS Etude; SUK Song of Love; ZARZYCKI Mazurka; MEDTNER Nocturne; KODALY 3 Hungarian Dances. V. Yampolsky, piano.

MC 2006 **MOZART Concerto No. 10 in E Flat Major for Two Pianos and Orchestra, K. 365** Gilels & Zak, pianos; State Orch of the U.S.S.R., Kondrashin, cond.; **SAINT-SAENS Carnival of the Animals** Gilels & Zak, pianos; State Orch of the USSR, Eliasburg, cond.

MC 2007 **KABALEVSKY Symphony No. 4** Leningrad Philharmonic Orch., Kabalevsky, cond.; **PROKOFIEFF The Volga Meets the Don, Op. 130** Moscow Philharmonic Orch., Samosud, cond.

MC 2009 **BACH Concerto in D Minor for Two Violins and Orchestra,** David and Igor Oistrakh, violins; Chamber Orch., Barshai, cond. **SARASATE Navarra for Two Violins and Piano,** David and Igor Oistrakh, violins; Yampolsky, piano; **BACH Sonata No. 6 in G Major for Violin and Piano; HINDEMITH Sonata No. 1 for Violin and Piano, Op. 11.** Oistrakh, violin; Yampolsky, piano.

MC 2010 **BEETHOVEN Trio No. 7 in B Flat Major, Op. 97, Archduke** Gilels, piano; Kogan, violin; Rostropovich, cello.

MC 2011 **BEETHOVEN Sonata No. 7 in C Minor, Op. 30, No. 2** Kogan, violin; Mitnik, piano; **MOZART Sonata in F Major, K. 376** Kogan, violin; Ginsburg, piano.

MC 2012 **RACHMANINOFF Piano Concerto No. 3 in D Minor, Op. 30** Merzhanov, piano; State Orch. of the USSR, Anosov, cond; **LISZT Three Grand Etudes After Paganini (Nos. 3 La Campanella, 4, 5)** Merzhanov, piano.

MC 2013 **BRAHMS Variations on a Theme of Paganini, Op. 35; SCRIABIN Sonata No. 5, Op. 53; Four Etudes (Op. 8, Nos. 5, 10, 12; Op. 42, No. 5)** Merzhanov, piano.

MC 2014 **SHOSTAKOVICH Violin Concerto, Op. 99** Oistrakh, violin; Leningrad Orch., Mravinsky, cond.

MC 2015 **SHOSTAKOVICH Symphony No. 9, Op. 70; A Festive Overture, Op. 96; Memorable Year 1919, Op. 89,** State Radio Orch. of the USSR, Gauk, cond.

MC 2018 **VIVALDI Violin Concerto in G Minor; RAMEAU Concerto No. 6 in G Minor; HANDOSHKIN Viola Concerto** Kogan, violin; Barshai, viola; Moscow Chamber Orch., Barshai, cond.

M 2019 **TCHAIKOVSKY Souvenir of Florence, Op. 70** Kogan, Elizaveta Gilels, violins; Barshai, Talalian, violas; Knushevitsky, Rostropovich, cellos **HANDOSHKIN Variations on a Russian Folk Theme** Kogan, violin; Rostropovich, cello.

MC 2025 **KHATCHATURIAN Spartacus Ballet Music State** Radio Orch., Gauk, cond.

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

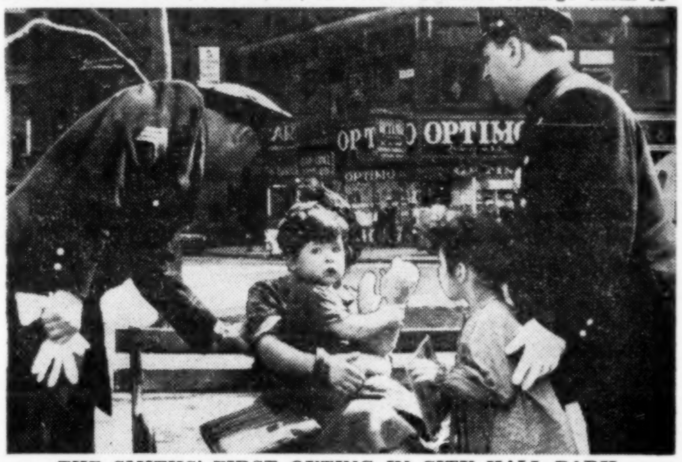
The Smith Theory

FOR THE REST OF THE NATION April 28 will be Operation Alert—1961 (see page 5), a day of civil defense exercises, but for Malissa and Kirk Smith, ages 6 and 3, it will mark their annual outing in New York's City Hall Park. The disparity in interpretations arises from an ideological split on civil defense.

New York officials favor the "shelter" theory. When the sirens sound traffic will be stopped and pedestrians hustled into doorways to simulate their evacuation to non-existent shelters. In most schools children will crouch under their desks or in closets. In others, bound by a deviationist outlook, children will be returned to their parents in the spirit of togetherness.

The Smith family has its own theory. When the sirens sound Mrs. Smith will be sitting in City Hall Park with Malissa and Kirk. They will refuse to take shelter. They will tell police and CD officials that they are protesting the drill as a cruel hoax which tends to prepare people for war and raises false hopes of defense against nuclear attack.

THE SMITH THEORY that the only meaningful civil defense is peace is old hat to Malissa and Kirk. For weeks they have heard their mother, Janice, 25, call other mothers to urge them to



THE SMITHS' FIRST OUTING IN CITY HALL PARK

join the protest. They know she goes out evenings to speak to mother's groups on the Smith Theory.

It began for Malissa and Kirk on April 17, 1959. Over breakfast coffee their father Jack complained to his wife that he couldn't get off from work to picket at City Hall Park with a group of pacifists against Operation Alert. Janice barely listened, she recalled to the GUARDIAN. She said she was thinking that it was the day she had to register Malissa in kindergarten.

Registration turned out to be a chore. The school principal said he couldn't spend much time with Mrs. Smith because he had to prepare the children for the drill. "What do they have to do?" Mrs. Smith asked. "They hide under their desks," he answered. "My children will never do that," Mrs. Smith said indignantly.

On the way home she saw a group of seven-year-olds at play running in and out of doorways shouting, "It's an air raid." She recalled: "I got so angry I took my kids straight to the subway for City Hall."

WHEN THE SIRENS sounded at the park all visitors headed for shelters but the Smiths sat. Police politely asked Mrs. Smith to take the children to shelter; she refused. Civil defense officials and City Hall reporters came running toward her. "The wardens were furious," she said. They shot questions: Wasn't she afraid of the H-bomb? Was she a pacifist? No. A communist? No. Then what the hell was she doing there? Mrs. Smith repeated that she would not be party to teaching war to children.

Police took her off to the station. Malissa and Kirk scampered about the station house while Mrs. Smith was questioned again. She was released without being booked.

Newspaper and television reports followed. Most expressed admiration for the young housewife who had challenged the authorities. "The nicest thing," Mrs. Smith recalled, "was when women I hadn't known before came up to me in the playground to say they wished they had gone with me."

Mrs. Smith set out with two other young mothers—Mrs. Mary Sharmat and Mrs. Pat MacMahon—to organize a Mother's Committee in association with the Civil Defense Protest Committee.

IN THE PROTEST against Operation Alert—1960, there were 25 mothers with their children among the 500 who refused to take shelter at City Hall Park. Mrs. Smith was also in a delegation to the Board of Education challenging the monthly drills. The protesters pointed out that the New York State Defense Emergency Act provides that schools need conduct drills only when they are part of a state-wide exercise.

Board officials admitted they had been besieged by letters from parents but they wouldn't yield. The Smiths have had a running correspondence with the board. In their last letter on Jan. 27, which is still unanswered, they said: "Our school system is preparing children for mass burial rather than kindling within them the spark that exists in all mankind for a world at peace."

The Smiths will be kindling the spark in City Hall Park at 3:30 on April 28. They ask other families to join them.

—Robert E. Light